THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 151 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · JULY 20, 1940 NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN IS STILL IN ITS preliminary stages. Both sides are carrying out almost continual air raids, but with what effect it is hard to tell from the meager reports passed by the censorship. Britain's air defenses appear to be strong, and there are few signs that the German hope of softening the island's morale in preparation for a grand assault is yet being realized. Certainly if Winston Churchill's latest speech reflects the spirit of the British there can be no fear of surrender while any means of resistance remain. Casualties from air raids have been comparatively light so far, but the question of how much actual damage has been done to military and industrial objectives is unanswerable. Under any circumstances, constant raids are bound to prove a hindrance to production, when work must be frequently interrupted by alarms and loss of sleep leads to decreased efficiency. But these factors are equally operative in Germany. Perhaps Britain's greatest danger at the present time comes from the heightened intensity of the submarine campaign. Even if Nazi claims are heavily discounted, it is clear that shipping losses are much higher than in the early months of the war. It is in this field that Italy is providing the greatest aid to its ally by keeping a strong British fleet occupied in the Mediterranean. This explains the anxiety of the British naval authorities to lure the Italian navy from the cover of its shore defenses in the hope of dealing it a decisive blow. The Italians, on the other hand, seem bent on avoiding a sea battle but are attempting to harass enemy squadrons from the air. They claim important successes from these tactics, but in this matter they appear to be rivaling Goebbels, whose communiqués have sunk nearly twice the number of battleships possessed by Britain.

*

OBEDIENT TO AXIS ORDERS, HUNGARY HAS put its claims for the return of Transylvania into cold storage until the war against Britain is settled. Partial demobilization has taken place both in Hungary and in Rumania, and every effort is now being made to get in the harvest. With poor crops everywhere in Europe this year that is a matter of paramount importance to the fascist powers, which are determined to keep their Balkan granary undisturbed. But while they can maintain discipline among the small fry they still have to worry lest Russia decide to advance farther east as soon as the Battle of Britain really engrosses Hitler's attention. Rumors are being spread that Moscow's next move will be to demand control of the Dardanelles from Turkey. A safe exit from the Black Sea is certainly a matter of paramount concern to Russia, but it is more likely to secure its interests in that direction by agreement with Turkey than by resort to threats of force. Under certain circumstances Turkey, which is in bad odor with both Axis powers, might prove a very useful ally to the Soviets. The chances are, indeed, that the two countries will draw closer together again. This Germany is trying to prevent, and it is making great play with alleged documentary evidence of Turkish complicity in an Allied plot to destroy the Soviet Caucasian oil fields, a propaganda effort which has drawn a vigorous retort from the Turkish Premier. Meanwhile, Rumania's abject descent into the Axis camp has cooled the long-standing friendship between it and Turkey. Hence new alignments among the small Balkan countries may be expected, and there are even indications of Turkish support for Bulgarian revisionism. A Turkish-Bulgarian understanding might well be blessed, if not inspired, by Russia.

*

PRESIDENT CARDENAS DESERVES CREDIT FOR his courage in giving Mexico its first free election. His action is especially noteworthy in that it was taken under no irrepressible compulsion. All Mexican Presidents are dictators, the good along with the bad, and all of them have resorted to "imposition" as the normal means of continuing their group in power. There was no reason why Cárdenas should not have repeated the customary travesty of the democratic process by which he himself, as a matter of fact, came into office. More than a year ago, however, he promised that in the choice of his successor the Mexican people would be permitted freely to express their preference at the polls. On July 7 he did everything within his power to keep that promise.

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The experiment was marred by disorders to which the partisans of both candidates contributed. Nevertheless, the voters went to the polls in numbers never before seen in Mexico and voted without interference from government authorities. But the very primitiveness of the electoral machinery, even if no other factors were involved, would in itself have been sufficient to vitiate the results; in addition Mexico's peculiar social structure is still hardly conducive to a chemically pure election. Too much credence must therefore not be placed in the numerical returns. General Avila Camacho, candidate of the P. R. M. (Party of the Mexican Revolution), is officially reported to have carried the country by nearly twenty to one; his opponent, General Juan Andreu Almazán, is claiming that 90 per cent of the vote was cast for him. The truth is that no one can tell what the actual count was.

✶

ALMAZAN CAMPAIGNED ON A PLATFORM OF "liberty and order," promising to destroy an "iniquitous dictatorship and a boss rule a thousand times worse than that of Porfirio Díaz." Only in the capital and in some of the provincial cities did he make an impressive show of strength. Camacho's victory throughout the country, although his claim of Mexico City seems dubious, can scarcely be denied; it is conceded even by conservatives, who, without sympathizing with Almazán, have been among the most outspoken critics and bitterest enemies of the Cárdenas regime. As was fully anticipated, Almazán has raised the cry of electoral fraud and is threatening to set up a rump congress of his own deputies to instal him as "legal" President. The situation is charged with dynamite, since the government would obviously be obliged to meet with force the challenge of a dual congress. It remains to be seen how Cárdenas will deal with the fresh crisis born of his own faith in the maturity of Mexican democracy.

✶

THE FIRST MAJOR ENGAGEMENT OF THE battle for Latin America has begun in Havana. The principal enemy, Nazi Germany, is not represented, but he is absent only in the flesh. His propaganda is operating in the minds of the delegates; and he has powerful if inanimate allies in the warehouses of Central and South America, filled with surplus products which he has promised to take once England has been defeated and a new, and hungry, Europe is organized from Berlin. Since the Conference of American Foreign Ministers was called, the Nazis have broadcast warnings to the South American nations against making anti-German moves at Havana, and increasing amounts of Nazi money are being poured into the work of propaganda, espionage, and intimidation in every one of them. The propaganda works a double, contradictory theme—that the United States cannot solve South America's economic problem and that it is seeking to gain economic hegemony over Latin America under the guise of protecting the Western Hemisphere from foreign domination. The concern of the Nazis for the sovereignty of nations is a laughing matter; the appeal of such propaganda to peoples conditioned to distrust the United States is not. The South American countries must be convinced that cooperation with the United States will solve their economic difficulties, that this cooperation does not imply any loss of sovereignty, and that unless they hang together they will all hang separately, both as economic and political units, on the belt of Hitler. General Hull and his aides have their work cut out for them at the Battle of Havana.

✶

THAT "SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENT," TVA, IS receiving vindication from strange quarters these days. At the urging of the National Defense Advisory Committee the House appropriations subcommittee on deficiencies last week hurriedly approved a bill to give the TVA $25,000,000 for the expansion of power production. It seems that the Aluminum Company of America must have more power for its plant at Alcoa, Tennessee, if it is to speed up the production of aluminum sheeting for the government's defense program. The Alcoa plant has drawn part of its power from TVA. Five years ago, when Hitler was taking over the Rhineland, TVA asked for amendments to permit expansion, because of the threat of a deficit of power in the valley that might become serious in time of emergency. Wendell Willkie led the fight against the amendments, ridiculing the "war-scare" arguments of the TVA. Two of his most vigorous assistants in the campaign were Charles W. Kellogg, president of the Edison Electric Institute, and Gano Dunn, president of the J. G. White Engineering Corporation, which has built some of Willkie's generating plants. The Aluminum Company told the National Defense Committee of its predicament; TVA brought forward its program for expansion; Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of the Defense Committee, called in his power advisers, and the program was forthwith approved. The advisers included Charles W. Kellogg and Gano Dunn.

✶

WHEN THE ALUMINUM WORKERS OF AMERICA (C. I. O.) asked the Aluminum Company of America for a general hourly wage increase of ten cents an hour last year, the company's argument for refusal was that pending amendments to the neutrality law made the future of their production uncertain. The negotiations were recently renewed, and the union put forward strong arguments: the company made more than $36,000,000 last year in spite of "uncertainty"; it has a $51,000,000 surplus; today its plants are running at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capacity and 40 per cent of its production is going to national defense. The union claims that the increased wage bill would amount to $3,000,000; the company says $6,000,000. Even the higher figure would hardly send Alcoa into bankruptcy. But the negotiations struck snags. It was persistently reported that the company was using the dispute to force abandonment or postponement of the government's pending anti-trust suit against it. Meanwhile, the union had voted to strike. Under pressure from the government, exerted through the union's leadership, the strike was deferred. At this writing we do not know whether or not Alcoa has succeeded in having the anti-trust suit called off; we do know that the union has settled for two cents an hour instead of ten. The workers are resentful but feel helpless. The pattern of this episode is not pretty. Is it to be the pattern of defense?

✳

OUR COMMUTING EDITOR TELLS US THAT A little old gentleman who gets on at Rye and who shows the obvious effects of having read the *Herald Tribune* every morning for years on end came aboard with a copy of the *Times* one day last week. He greeted two friends and was heard to murmur apologetically, "I buy it once in a while just to see what they're up to."

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 41

EDITORIALS:
- REALISM IN THE FAR EAST 43
- HITLER'S FRANCE 44
- LET THE CAMPAIGN START by Freda Kirchwey 45

NO DEAL WITH JAPAN! by M. Thomas Tchou 46

SHOWDOWN AT MEMPHIS by Hodding Carter 48

BALKAN PUZZLE by Rustem Vambery 49

WITHIN THE GATES 51

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS by Keith Hutchison 52

IN THE WIND 53

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:
- HISTORY AS FICTION by John Chamberlain 54
- STUDY OF A CULTURE by Constance Rourke 54
- THE CASE FOR ENGLAND by Conyers Read 55
- SPIRIT AND SENSE by John Peale Bishop 55
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 57

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

Realism in the Far East

IN A speech broadcast on June 29 Foreign Minister Arita expressed "Japan's determination to exterminate by any or every means" third-power assistance to the Chinese government. Immediately afterward came renewed demands on Britain to close the Burma Road, accompanied by threats to Hongkong. At the same time there was a recrudescence of anti-American propaganda.

The collapse of France and the absorption of Britain in its life-and-death struggle with Germany provide immense new opportunities to Japanese imperialism, but before they can be seized, the liquidation of the Chinese war is essential, as M. Thomas Tchou points out in an article on page 46. A decisive victory still seems remote, and the war continues to place a severe strain on resources of man-power and materials, leaving too small a margin available for adventures in new directions. That is why it is necessary for Japan, not only to cut off Chungking from the limited but vital supplies reaching it from the outside world, but to deprive the Chinese of hope by proving that the Western powers can be bulldozed into leaving them to their fate. That would still leave Russia as the friend of China, but there is reason to believe that should the United States move in the direction of appeasing Tokyo, the Soviets might feel compelled to conclude a pact with Japan.

Britain's first reply to the Japanese demand for the closing of the Burma Road was negative, but a "request" for reconsideration has since led to an agreement said to provide for the barring of certain categories of imports into China for a period of two or three months. In British quarters the importance of this concession is being minimized on the ground that the rainy season blocks the route for some time anyhow. Further compliance with Japan's demands is conditioned by a proposal that an effort be made to negotiate a settlement of the Sino-Japanese war, toward which end Britain volunteers its good offices. This attempt to "save face" has only increased Chinese indignation.

We may well consider Britain's actions censurable in view of its many promises to China. Nevertheless, Britain is desperately engaged in Europe and has no option but to employ Fabian tactics in the East, hoping that if time can be gained conditions may become more favorable. In any case, before becoming too critical, we should examine our own conscience. In the matter of the Burma Road we have apparently stood aloof, for Mr. Hull has denied that there have been any conversations with Britain on the subject. Yet it is one which concerns us closely, for only by this route can we now send material aid to China. If we allow it to be closed, our policy of nonrecognition of Japanese conquests and support for China's integrity will be reduced to a pious wish. Even

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as it is, we are doing much to render that policy nugatory by giving far more economic support to Japan's aggressions than to China's defense. It seems high time that the threat contained in the abrogation of the trade treaty more than six months ago was unmuzzled and an embargo placed on all exports of essential war materials to Japan. Such action would be not only a warning to Japan in language its leaders understand but a great encouragement to Britain in resisting further pressure.

It would have a useful effect, too, in offsetting the unfortunate impression created by the few ill-chosen words which the President uttered recently through the mouth of Stephen Early. We know that when Mr. Roosevelt suggested that Europe and Asia each apply the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to its own territories he was not indorsing either the Nazi conception of Pan-Europe or Tokyo's version of Asia for the Asiatics. But his words were eagerly seized on in Tokyo, which was particularly delighted with the proposal that the disposition of French Indo-China should be decided among the Asiatic countries. Obviously, the President meant that these countries should meet in free conference as equal partners, but in these days of naked power politics and puppet governments such ideas lend themselves to dangerous distortions.

Realism rather than utopianism is the great need of American foreign policy at this time. If the maintenance of China's integrity is not a matter of vital concern to us but represents merely an ideal, it would be well to abandon moral gestures and retire from Asia altogether. But if, as *The Nation* believes, we have a legitimate self-interest in the maintenance of the Asiatic status quo, we shall be wise to face the risks of bolstering China's resistance. For that resistance is, at this moment, the chief barrier to Japan's far-flung expansion. If it collapses we shall be reduced to a choice of acquiescing in Japan's "New Order" or opposing it with force—and alone.

Hitler's France

"WE, Marshal Pétain," has been authorized by the demoralized French Parliament to promulgate a new constitution and to rule France by decree, but for all that he does not qualify for membership in the Dictators' Club. No matter how imposing his powers appear, he is, and will remain, a hireling of hirelings. The dilapidated façade of military glory barely conceals the sinister triumvirate—Laval, the agent of Mussolini, Weygand, monarchist and clerical, Marquet, one of France's many would be Führers. But they, again, are in no sense free agents. They are only caretakers for the conquerors, subject to instant dismissal should they fail to give satisfaction.

Laval himself gave the game away when he urged Parliament toward the double crime of murdering the Third Republic and committing suicide on its corpse. "I bring you," he said, "not the conviction but the certainty that if you want an honorable peace you must give Marshal Pétain what he wants." Clearly, orders had been received for the destruction of every vestige of democracy. The proposal of the new French government to move to Versailles is also, without doubt, inspired by the Nazis, who wish to keep it within their physical control. But probably the decision was welcomed by Laval and his colleagues, who, as the tale of their subservience to Germany unfolds, will surely need the protection of German bayonets from the wrath of true Frenchmen.

Confused and shell-shocked as the people of France are today, there is little sign of any mass movement toward fascism. National Socialism had a huge popular following in Germany before it seized power. It fed the discontents of millions of middle-class people, peasants, and unemployed with vague promises of a new economic order while enlisting the support of the wealthy by playing on their fears of bolshevism. Above all, it thrived on a national desire for revenge. In France, on the other hand, fascism has no revolutionary base but has been pushed by those on top as a clever trick for conserving their wealth and privileges. Even today Pétain, while mouthing borrowed phrases about abolishing the dictatorship of money, adopts as his chief slogan "the restoration of order." Something more inspiring than this is required to launch a genuine fascist party.

Nor can the French totalitarians look to the motive of vengeance as a means of rallying the masses, for that would immediately involve the obliterating displeasure of their German masters. They are already attempting to turn the people's anger against the British and against those leaders who struggled in vain to organize resistance to fascism. They will probably try to use the Jews and the refugees as scapegoats. For a short time such devices may even meet with some success. But surely not for long. It will not be hard for the French people to identify their oppressors, whose looting they must suffer in silence, whose harsh commands they must obey in more than half of their country. What chance is there, then, that they will rally round a regime which can only exist by cooperating with the enemy?

Hitler, we can be sure, has no interest in promoting a strong fascist movement in France. His aim, candidly declared more than once, is to crush France forever as a rival great power. But he has plans for its economic future of which some hints are to be found in Pétain's address to the French Parliament. "The common life of our nation," said the Marshal, "must now have a new orientation and must be integrated within the continental system of production and exchange. Furthermore, France must return to her agricultural and peasant character primarily, and her industry must find its traditional qual-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ity." In this passage His Master's Voice is speaking in unmistakable tones. France must turn away from the heavy industries without which no country can be strong in a military sense. Its role is to grow foodstuffs and make luxury products for the use of its conquerors. For steel, machinery, chemicals it must depend on Germany.

Hitler's success in forcing on France an economic program of this kind would very likely be unwelcome to his Italian ally, but that may be one of the chief reasons for attempting it. Mussolini is believed to have a plan for a powerful federation of fascist Latin states embracing Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, which would act as a counterweight to the Nordic colossus. But none of these countries, other than France, has a really highly developed industry, and without that, Latin superiority in man-power will not count for much. We may take it that Hitler means to keep things that way and will insist that Pétain, Laval and company take their economic orders from Berlin and not Rome.

Let the Campaign Start

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MANY people are saying, in these hot convention weeks, that politics ought to be adjourned. National unity, they believe, is to be conjured out of the political air by some sort of stand-still agreement on major issues. The more radical among them would have adjourned the elections altogether through a coalition and a single Presidential ticket. With that hope demolished they urge a joint defense and foreign-policy platform, in the belief that in time of peril the country should speak with one voice on the issues that touch its security.

I don't share this view, or the fears on which it rests. Foreign dictators and aggressors may lick their chops over American political differences, but if they do they will fool themselves disastrously. The fever of a Presidential campaign does not endanger our national health; it only multiplies the anti-bodies that overcome political infections. Naturally, it is to be hoped that the campaign will be free from the filthier sorts of political attack; rowdyism in a year of solemn decision is demoralizing and a little disgusting. I hope, too, that New Dealers will stop pretending Willkie was nominated solely as the result of a Wall Street putsch when it is obvious he came in on the wave of a most unprecedented public demand. After all, Robert Taft would have done just as well by J. P. Morgan and Company. Maybe better. Willkie is a wilful sort of big-business man, an individualist cut more along the heroic lines of the robber barons of an earlier day—don't sue, Mr. Willkie; it's a compliment—than of a sleek Wall Street executive. As for the Republicans, I hope they will refrain from charging that Mr. Roosevelt intends to become a dictator. If they want to debate the third-term issue, let them do it on honest and not imaginary grounds. I hope they will not pretend that the President is pursuing a lone and headstrong pro-war policy. The votes in Congress offer clear evidence of the bipartisan nature of our foreign policy, and it is going to be hard for the Republican politicians to make the "war-party" label stick to their Democratic opponents. In short, I hope—though I have lived through enough campaigns to keep these hopes burning low—that lies and nonsense and mud will be largely eliminated from the coming struggle. But aside from this, the campaign should be vigorously contested.

For profound and undecided issues confront the American people, and a Presidential campaign fought on those issues is the most democratic way we have of settling them. The campaign should be a national debate and plebiscite on the most serious problem of our time—whether a great defense program can be built on a foundation of social and economic reform and carried out by democratic methods, or whether in creating the essential instruments of defense we must sacrifice the flesh and spirit of democracy.

That is the only important issue. Even the issue of war and peace is less important, because it is less real. Neither candidate wants war; both support policies designed to defend our security by peaceful means as long as possible. Neither one can honestly promise more than that. When Mr. Roosevelt announces his determination to keep American troops out of foreign wars, he means what he says. But if it should seem necessary to defend the French or Dutch West Indies against Germany or prevent a Nazi putsch in Central America, the President would send men and ships immediately. In such an event the foreign war would become an American war. So it doesn't matter much what the platforms choose to say on the subject. It matters far more what Hitler intends and accomplishes in the next months. Our war policy will be settled on the shores of Britain and on the high seas and in the Antilles—not in Philadelphia or Chicago.

But the issues that bear on national defense merit serious debate. A large defense program will dominate our whole national life. No longer will politicians debate the issue of government versus private initiative. In a war economy, government wins. And the debate will center around the question, Who controls the government? No talk about national unity can wipe this question off the slate. If the steel and utility and airplane and shipbuilding companies control the government, the result will be revealed in profit figures, tax rates, regulations regarding hours, and wage scales. So far, in the early stages of the present defense effort, the balance of power has tipped toward the side of capital. That is the inevitable tendency, especially after a period of prolonged depression. Capital wants assured profits; labor wants

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jobs. The President has said that labor's gains would not be liquidated, that the defense program would not create millionaires. But the airplane orders were stalled until the companies won an increased guaranteed profit.

These items are only illustrative. They suggest the questions that should be put to the candidates this summer and debated by the citizens. We must force the real issue to the front no matter how studiously it may be avoided by candidates and platforms. We must ask the men who want to be President exactly how they propose to save democracy in America. We must ask specific questions about the Wagner and Walsh-Healey acts, about wages and hours, about labor's participation in the construction of our new defenses and in the staffing of our new army. We must decide on the basis of their answers and their records which man and which party offers the best hope of a democratic defense, and of a democracy worth defending. This is not the year to adjourn politics.

No Deal with Japan!

BY M. THOMAS TCHOU

WITH the United States facing a growing threat to its liberties and security from the spectacular advance of totalitarian aggression in Europe, there is apparently a nascent movement here for the appeasement of Japan. Senator Vanderberg, who last summer openly urged the abrogation of the American-Japanese commercial treaty, in a radio address on June 9 last called for a resumption of trade-treaty relations. He declared that a "pacified Pacific could be almost equivalent to half a navy in our scheme of defense." The New York *Daily News,* which has for years advocated the curbing of Japan and has urged the United States to build two warships to Japan's one, on June 4 advised the United States to make friends with Japan. With more consistency Walter Lippmann, who had disapproved the abrogation of the commercial treaty, wrote on June 5:

> It is still true that our interests in the Far East are secondary to our interests in this hemisphere; but because this is true it follows that there is no conflict between Japan and the United States which is not reconcilable by diplomacy. We should, therefore, recognize this truth and should, I submit, enter immediately into friendly and conciliatory and candid negotiations with the Japanese for the avowed purpose of preserving the peace in the Pacific.
>
> We should aim high and aim far—at a new order of things in the Pacific, in which, having adjusted our secondary conflicts, the two navies will cease to confront each other as potential antagonists and will be free to maintain order and stability in their respective spheres of influence.

The great majority of the American people, however, are opposed to Japan's aggression in China and support the State Department's policy of non-recognition of Japan's conquests. Last August a Gallup survey revealed that 82 per cent of those interrogated favored ending the shipment of war supplies to Japan. It is proper, therefore, to examine carefully any proposals for changing what has become an established American policy.

The first question is to ask is, How can the United States make friends with Japan? To find an answer, let us look at the history of American foreign policy in the Far East. The United States for a hundred years has upheld China's political independence and territorial integrity. Forty years ago the State Department reinforced this position by advocating the maintenance of an "open door" of equal opportunity for trade in China. Eventually the United States secured the adherence of seven other countries to these principles, and as a result the Nine-Power Treaty was signed in Washington in February, 1922. In pursuing this policy the government was influenced both by altruism and by national interests. China was inoffensive, peace-loving, and militarily weak: the effort of the United States to preserve its political independence and territorial integrity and to leave it free to evolve its own future was an act of altruism. But America's own interests in the Pacific also demanded the existence of an independent China. And since the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan had repeatedly tried to gain control of parts of China and had thus threatened the interests of the United States. With Russia in confusion following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Nine-Power Treaty was, in effect, an Anglo-American combination to counterbalance Japan. Today the bone of contention between the United States and Japan is the validity of this treaty.

When Japan seized Mukden and the rest of Manchuria in the fall of 1931, the United States, among other countries, protested against this flagrant violation of the Nine-Power Treaty. When its protests were disregarded by Japan, Washington enunciated what has come to be known as the policy of non-recognition—that is, that the United States would refuse to recognize any acquisitions by Japan in China that were obtained by violence, in contravention of existing treaties. Subsequently Japan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seized more and more of China's territory, and the United States reiterated its refusal to recognize Japan's gains. Japan then began to drive out American and European interests from its newly acquired territories and insulted, expelled, and in other ways maltreated foreign representatives, traders, and missionaries, as it still continues to do. Since it launched its undeclared war in China three years ago, more than six hundred such acts against Americans and their interests are on record at the State Department. Finally on July 6, 1939, exasperated by Japan's course, Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced that the commercial treaty of 1911 between the two nations would be abrogated in six months' time. This cleared the way for an American embargo on war supplies to Japan, which depends on the United States for 60 per cent of the raw materials it must import for the expansion of its armaments and the prosecution of the war. These include oil, high-test gasoline, iron, copper, lead, and cotton. Actually, however, there has been no stoppage or even diminution of Japanese purchases; on the contrary, shipments have tended to increase.

It is generally agreed that if the United States had shut off these supplies, and had given substantial assistance to China, the "China incident" would have ended long before the European war broke out. Unfortunately this was not done, and now the United States is alarmed not only by the possible victory of Germany and Italy over Great Britain, but by Japan's announced intention to establish hegemony over East Asia. Some Americans are saying, therefore, that the United States should make friends with Japan.

When the two parties to a dispute have opposite views they can become friends only by one party giving up his views and accepting those of the other or by working out a compromise. Japan wants the United States to recognize its "New Order in East Asia"; the United States insists that Japan respect the Nine-Power Treaty. Since Japan is staking everything on setting up its "New Order," the United States cannot realistically expect it to abandon its purpose or even to agree to a compromise. Thus the United States can only gain the friendship of Japan by surrendering to it. The United States must accept with a smile the insults to its representatives and citizens and its material losses in China and admit that it was wrong to insist upon respect for the Nine-Power Treaty. It must desist from fortifying Guam. It must recognize Manchoukuo and Wang Ching-wei's puppet regime and acquiesce in all that Japan is doing in China. It must cancel the moral embargo on war planes. And of course the United States must negotiate a new treaty with Japan restoring to it most-favored-nation treatment and must supply, without threat of stoppage, all Japan needs to complete the conquest of China. Is this what Walter Lippmann meant when he said, "We should aim high and aim far—at a new order of things in the Pacific"? If so, he should speak plainly and say that America must bow to force and violate the treaty it sponsored and has hitherto upheld.

The next question is, Can Japan be appeased by the United States? This is a practical question, the same question that Neville Chamberlain had to face with regard to Nazi Germany. Suppose the President plays the part of Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier in a Munich of the Far East and bows to the wishes of the military rulers of Japan, is there any ground for believing that Japan would be satisfied and desist from further aggression? What makes the advocates of appeasement think that they can trust Japan to live up to future treaties when they know that, without provocation from China, the United States, or any other power, Japan flagrantly violated the Nine Power Treaty, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact? Any attempt at appeasement by the United States will vindicate the invasion of China and stimulate Japan to further aggression. If it should next strike at the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, British Malaya, and other British possessions in Polynesia, Australia, and New Zealand, would not the United States have to acquiesce? If it should then take the Philippines under its "protection," must not the United States again consent for the sake of peace? After establishing its New Order in East Asia with American help, Japan might next choose to extend the "New Order" to Hawaii or some South or Central American state, thus encroaching upon the Monroe Doctrine. In short, what is going to be the limit of a policy of appeasement? Europe is today reaping the dreadful harvest of a similar policy.

It is amazing that those who advocate appeasing the aggressors of the Far East have overlooked the fact that China's resistance is the principal factor keeping Japan from embarking on new ventures. This vast, peace-loving nation has kept the aggressors at bay for three years. Nation after nation in Europe has disappeared in a few days or weeks, but China has consolidated from within, has developed its communications, industries, education, and sanitation, has doubled its army and its equipment—all with limited help from the outside world. If the United States now gave China substantial assistance and withheld supplies from Japan, Japan would soon be driven out of China, and Japanese aggression would be doomed. China is, in effect, fighting not only for its own independence but also for the security of the United States and other countries in the Pacific.

The following paragraphs from an editorial in the Chicago *Daily News* of June 10 summarize the situation:

> In order to make a deal with Japan today, we would have to condone, openly or covertly, its treaty-breaking invasions of China. We would have to betray not only our Chinese friends, but also more than a hundred years of American policy in the Far East. We would be imi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tating, in effect, the worst and most dangerous aspects of Britain's "appeasement" efforts.

And once we had made the deal, of what use would it be? Japan has deliberately broken one solemn treaty with us. Why should it keep another any longer than its own interest required? What guaranty would we have that, at the first opportunity, Japan would not gang up against us with the rest of our enemies?

The latest developments in the Far East fully bear out this view. Almost immediately after the British gave in to the Japanese at Tientsin, new Japanese pressure was put on Hongkong in an effort to force Britain to close the Burma Road, over which supplies were going to free China. Within two weeks of France's surrender, Japan extended its tentacles to Indo-China, and on June 29 Foreign Minister Arita announced the expansion of the "New Order in East Asia" into a "Monroe Doctrine"—with Japan as the "stabilizing force"—for East Asia and the South Seas, a vast area now ruled by Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States. The military leaders of Japan considered the announcement lacking in concreteness, but Secretary of State Cordell Hull lost no time in pointing out that certain "Monroe doctrines" are instruments for the conquest of free peoples.

President Roosevelt's suggestion of July 6 that Europe and Asia each apply the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to its own territories as the American nations apply them to theirs met a ready welcome in Tokyo. The Japanese seem to interpret the suggestion as supporting their contention that the United States and European nations should withdraw from East Asia. While the President recommended that all the European or Asiatic nations should confer and "make the decision—not just one conquering power," the Japanese have confidence in their ability to control and manipulate their puppet governments. Undoubtedly the Japanese are using the "marine incident" in Shanghai as a test case of American policy. Should the United States weaken, the Japanese will be convinced that the Western nations are on the run in the Far East.

Showdown at Memphis

BY HODDING CARTER

THE red firecracker didn't explode at the Memphis convention of the American Newspaper Guild, but it sputtered enough to burn Guildsmen's fingers, give Westbrook Pegler material for another column or two, and divert public attention from the real meaning of the meeting.

The sultry week wasn't pleasant for delegates wishing for the unity so necessary to continued Guild development. Pre-convention dissension over administration policies and personalities divided the members into opposing camps and drew more notice to political caucuses and deals than to the less heady trade-union problems. The political maneuvers, name-calling sessions, and balloting which resulted in a clean sweep for the administration made the headlines.

The charges of communism made by Pegler and a small minority within the Guild had official Memphis so alert for the worst that the chief of police forbade a Negro high school's drum-and-bugle corps to parade on melody-famous Beale Street because "these niggers are communistic enough without parading for the Guild." Advance reports of impending sensations brought together the largest and most strangely assorted group of reporters ever to cover a Guild convention. At the press table were staff members of the New York *Times,* the *New Masses, Editor and Publisher,* the *Daily Worker,* the A. F. of L. *Labor Review* of Memphis, *PM,* the Memphis newspapers, and the Associated Press and United Press.

The big moment came when a minority of the Resolutions Committee sought to have a denunciation of communism, Nazism, and fascism inserted in a resolution on national defense. The motion was tabled by the most one-sided vote of the convention. That put glue on the label. But actually the original defense resolution, which was adopted unanimously, was all that the D. A. R. could ask. It pledged the Guild to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and to support a national-defense program which protected labor. It put the Guild on record as opposed to all subversive forces. What the Guild did in rejecting the specific Communist-Fascist-Nazi clause was to thumb its nose at Pegler and a few publishers. No other fair interpretation can be made. The refusal to denounce communism may not have been smart, but it was a sincere reaction to frequently outrageous attacks. The new Guild president, twenty-nine-year-old Donal Sullivan, a Boston *Globe* courts reporter with a law degree, is no fellow-traveler. Neither is Harold Breard, a Catholic and a socially correct Louisianan, who was a convention hero by virtue of having been the leader of the first Guild strike in the deep South. Both Sullivan and Breard opposed the minority report. So did Max Ways of Philadelphia, a leader in the unsuccessful fight to oust Executive President Milton Kaufman and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Executive Secretary Victor Pasche of New York, the paid officers around whom the convention struggle raged.

Yet the battle over this resolution and the week-long fight against Kaufman and Pasche, directed by Kenneth Crawford of Washington, the outgoing president, obscured for the public almost everything else the convention did. It was news that Crawford was defeated in a fight for reelection which he didn't want to make. It was news that the large New York delegation held in line thirty of the fifty-five locals represented and emerged still the dominant force of the Guild. It was news that the Guild seethed with personal animosities, that the administration was accused of laxity, possessiveness, incompetence, and communism. And wounds were not healed by pledges of unity at the end of the convention. In internal politics the Guild is divided still.

But other results will have more permanent significance. The Guild held up against a hard pounding from within and without. Despite the factional strife, it showed no sign of being in serious danger of disintegration. After seven years, in which it has grown from a dream of the late Heywood Broun to a C. I. O. union with 17,000 members, the main current of Guild activity still runs toward its original objectives, the improvement of the hours and pay of newspaper employees. Meeting in the heart of the comparatively unorganized South, the Guild formed for a week a unique oasis. Its open sessions were attended and addressed by representatives of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., including Allan Haywood, director of C. I. O. organization, and Claude Baker, president of the A. F. of L.'s International Typographers' Union. In the convention hall and in convivial spots, before the eyes of glowering Memphis, inland boatmen of the Maritime Union, A. F. of L. typographers, marine engineers, and S. W. O. C. members turned up to demonstrate labor's solidarity.

Unsung and almost unnoticed was the work of the politically non-controversial committees, whose reports really reflected the Guild's purposeful, trade-union objectives. The report of the Employer-Relations Committee on a collective-bargaining program proposed extended vacations, compensation for holiday work, death-benefit provisions, transfer expenses and consent for newspapermen ordered to other cities, a national-emergency clause to protect men joining the military services, more emphasis on severance pay, and gradual efforts for a five-day, thirty-five-hour week. On the subject of policy the report said: "Good contracts are obtainable only through organizational strength. . . . We should studiously avoid creating among the membership the attitude that social legislation, such as the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, become substitutes for labor-union action. . . . Social legislation will not of itself perpetuate union organization."

The Labor-Relations Committee warned against "indiscriminate organization of workers in established jurisdictions of other unions." The Committee on Organization asked for another international organizer, resident organizers where it was financially possible, and unionization on a full industrial basis rather than primarily among editorial employees. These recommendations are signposts. The delegates' preoccupation—outside of campaigning—with the organization of Scripps-Howard in line with the new Hearst contract pointed in the same direction. Opposition was also voted to modification of the Wagner Act, to the effort to deport Harry Bridges, to curtailment of WPA appropriations, and to narrowing the wages-and-hours provisions. All national and state political candidates were asked to support the general social and economic program of the New Deal.

With agreement on such objectives and policies, the Guild is not likely to be torn apart by the factional battle. What effect this much-advertised row will have upon unorganized newspaper employees, the public, and the employers is another matter. The convention did much to clear the atmosphere for Guild members. But the fight and the gestures of defiance may still be liabilities for the immediate future.

Balkan Puzzle

BY RUSTEM VAMBERY

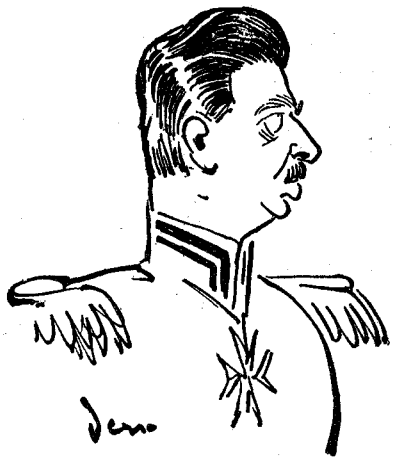
THE "mystery" of the Balkans ceases to be a mystery once it is understood that Western standards cannot be applied to them. "The Balkans" means not merely a range of mountains and a peninsula between the Adriatic and the Aegean Sea, or a number of small states with conflicting interests; the name stands for a particular twist of mind. To describe it as bellicose, pugnacious, or quarrelsome is not enough. The Russian saying has it that a Russian is taken ill if he is not allowed to tell one lie a year, but that a Persian will die if he is bound to tell the truth once a year. It would appear that the ancestors of most Balkan politicians came from territory somewhere between Russia and Persia. In addition the Balkan people are imbued with an overheated chauvinism of which the ardor is in reverse proportion to the size of their native country.

The people of the peninsula, and for that matter the statesmen, were originally no worse than their Western brothers, but centuries of Turkish domination followed by Hapsburg imperialism developed both the necessity to play a double game and the unsavory qualities with which to play it successfully. At present, however, the traditional crafty intrigues and double-crossings with which the pre-war aspirations of the Balkan states were pursued are obliged to give way to dire realities. Between the German drive to the East and Russia's efforts to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

execute the will of Peter the Great, the Balkan countries are facing the annihilation that threatens all minor states in the path of the dictators.

In this crisis the Balkan crazy-quilt disintegrates into its rather diverse units. Bulgaria, with 6,300,000 people of Ural-Altaic origin but speaking a Slav language, and Yugoslavia, with 15,000,000 Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes who have succeeded in settling their internal religious and cultural differences, are, in spite of their dictatorial regimes, basically democratic. Neither ever had an aristocracy, and their rulers, who are now yielding to German economic pressure, are certainly neither Fascist nor Nazi in their sympathies. Though Yugoslavia is literally being squeezed between the devil and the deep sea and Bulgaria expects support from Germany for its revisionist demand on Rumania, neither has adopted the Nazi ideology. Hungary and Rumania are in a more awkward position. They have no kinsfolk in Europe as their two neighbors have in the Russians. Both are ruled by a post-war bureaucracy combined in Rumania with what was left of the *boyars* after the agrarian reform and in Hungary with the impoverished gentry. Their aristocratic, feudal spirit is not popular with the Nazis, who are out to kill the "gentleman." To balance this factor the Hungarian government has proved most studious in imitating Nazi legislation and never misses a chance to declare its ardent love for the Axis.



King Carol of Rumania

Within the past month Rumania in its deadly peril attempted to outdo the Hungarian bid for Nazi favor. It turned explicitly "totalitarian" and promised to defend "Christian civilization," meaning Nazism, by means of Jew-baiting against the menacing Russian attack. As a token of his good-will Carol chose his Cabinet from those leaders of the Iron Guard who happened to survive last year's slaughter of their comrades. Nevertheless, it is uncertain against which of their partners the Nazis are going to protect their newest ally—a Russia aware of Germany's urgent need for the Ukraine granary or a Hungary eager to recover Transylvania with its 55 per cent Rumanian population. Since Germany is not so fatuous as to wage war in its own larder or gasoline station, it will probably cool the Hungarian fervor once again—perhaps by a promise to revise frontiers later on. There is every evidence that this is precisely what took place last week at the "little Munich" conference of German, Italian, and Hungarian leaders, although no official communiqué was issued.

On the other hand, it may be that the Russo-German showdown is really approaching. Stalin may decide that he cannot afford to wait until Hitler's legions, having crushed Great Britain, hurl themselves on the coveted Ukrainian paradise. When Hitler believes that the showdown with Russia is near, the Magyars will be permitted to act as a battering ram against the gate of the Russian granary. Why shouldn't Jonah have a treat before the German whale swallows him? Bulgaria, on the other hand, may have its share of the Dobrudja loot before being swallowed by the Russian whale.

It is impossible to say with any assurance at this point whether or not Germany and the Soviet Union have come to terms over the Balkans, but the question of an agreement is hardly important. It would do grave injustice to their respective ethical codes to presume that they would not violate any agreement at will. Thus far Turkey has been the connecting link between Russia and the Allies, but with Russia controlling the Danube estuary and making overtures in the direction of the Dardanelles, the Turkish position has become precarious. Italian naval bases in the Dodecanese Islands, which have been a factor in Turkish dependence on Moscow, add no little to the discomfort in Ankara.

Russia certainly does not need more territory. What it needs is safety. From whom? According to the Nazi press the Baltic and Bessarabian grabs were directed against the Allies. There are, however, so far as we know, no British armed forces in Scandinavia or Slovakia. And there is no indication that the Allies have an eye on the Ukraine. Meanwhile, Germany does everything to create the impression that if Russia lays claim to the Turkish city of Kars, formerly Russian, it will be less in order to protect the Baku-Batum pipeline than to launch an attack on British oil interests in Mosul and the Persian Gulf.

The Turks, who are still pro-Ally, are by no means taken in by this Nazi propaganda, but the continuing relations between Russia and Germany leave them in an awkward predicament. To yield to Russian pressure would appear to be siding with Germany; to refuse Russia's demands would not only entail serious risks at present but would make Turkey's position worse in the event of an ultimate German-Russian clash.

Bismarck's aim was to undermine Russian influence in the Balkans; Hitler's aims are more far-reaching. What looks to many people like the dusk of Western civilization will probably end the system of small Balkan sovereignties. Either they will be swallowed by their powerful neighbors or they will become members of a federation. Pessimists dread the first alternative; optimists still hope for the second.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Within the Gates

THAT the enemy within the gates may be as formidable as the enemy that storms them has been proved in the bloody history of Norway, the Low Countries, and France. But the people of the United States have not the slightest conception, yet, of the extent to which German agents and sympathizers have already paved the road for their Trojan horse in this country. Unlike most of the daily press, *The Nation* believes that the people can be trusted with the facts about fascism in America. We plan to publish a selection of material on Nazi and native fascist activities as frequently as events warrant. It will appear under the heading Within the Gates and will be based on the inquiries of various private agencies which have been investigating fascist groups in the United States.

No better introduction to this department can be given than the words of Adolf Hitler, whose malevolent genius created and sustains these enemies within. The excerpts printed below and taken from "The Voice of Destruction,"* by Hermann Rauschning, bring a sharp realization of the plans and methods with which we have to deal. They were spoken by Hitler himself in conversations with Dr. Rauschning.

> We shall have friends who will help us in all the enemy countries. We shall know how to obtain such friends. Mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecisiveness, panic; these are our weapons. . . .
>
> I am building up a great organization of my own. It costs a lot of money, but it gets things moving for me. I have drawn up a questionnaire covering details of the persons I am interested in. I am having a comprehensive card index compiled of every influential person in the world. The cards contain every detail of importance. Will he take money? Can he be bought in any other way? Is he vain? Is he sexual? In what way? Is he homosexual? That is of the utmost value, because it provides close associations that can never be escaped from. Has he anything in his past to conceal? Can he be subjected to pressure? What is his business? His hobby, his favorite sport, his likes and dislikes? Does he like travel? And so on. It is on the strength of these reports that I choose my men. That really is politics. I get hold of men who will work for me. I create a force of my own in every country. . . .
>
> There's no sense in attempting propaganda without adequate resources—on the contrary, it merely arouses opposition and achieves nothing. People have an entirely mistaken notion of what propaganda is. Open influencing of the masses is only one side of it, and a perfectly innocent side. The masses have got to be worked on, in order to prepare the ground. But the real problem is to get hold of prominent people, and whole sets. . . .
>
> The results at which I have to aim are only to be attained by systematic corruption of the possessing and governing classes. Business advantages, erotic satisfactions, and ambition, that is to say, the will to power, are the three main stops in our propaganda organ. . . .
>
> I am concerned with power politics—that is to say, I make use of all means that seem to me to be of service, without the slightest concern for the proprieties or for codes of honor. . . .
>
> I can no longer carry on politics in the style of the bourgeois democracies and monarchies of the nineteenth century, with their totally obsolete rules. . . .
>
> I am carrying on power politics, with the aid, if I choose, of naked, ruthless force, and what earthly difference can there be between using every means of trickery and misrepresentation and ordering my armies to march? One method is regarded as respectable, and, now and then, unhappily unavoidable between well-bred people; at the other, people throw up their hands in horror. Why? Such distinctions are moral fancies for old women. I certainly have an advantage over these bourgeois democrats in my freedom from pedantic and sentimental inhibitions. Am I to be so generous as to throw away this advantage, simply because my opponents have not progressed so far? . . .
>
> It is a good idea to have at least two German societies in every country. One of them can then always call attention to its loyalty to the country in question, and will have the function of fostering social and economic connections. The other one may be radical and revolutionary. It will have to be prepared to be frequently repudiated by myself and other German authorities. I want to make it quite clear, too, that *I make no distinction between German nationals and Germans by birth who are citizens of a foreign country.* Superficially we shall have to make allowances for such citizenship. *But it will be your special task to train all Germans, without distinction, unconditionally to place their loyalty to Germandom before their loyalty to the foreign state.*
>
> For me, success is the only criterion. The means are of no interest to me. But whoever opposes you should know that he has nothing more to expect from the German Reich. He will be outlawed for all time. And in due course he will reap the fruits of his treacherous attitude. . . .

It is useless to discuss the ruthless annihilation of all the moral standards of civilization implicit in these words. What is called for now is action, not analysis or debate. As a prelude to action, these quotations raise certain presumptions which the American people must get clearly in mind:

First, every German diplomatic or consular agent in the United States must be assumed to be actively engaged in efforts to undermine the government and institutions of the United States.

* Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second, every German alien in this country—except refugees and those whose record proves the contrary—must be presumed to be doing everything within his power to undermine the United States.

Finally, all organizations which accept the Nazi "party line" must be looked upon as agencies of Hitler's fifth column, no matter how "American" may be their camouflage.

In future issues this department will tell its readers who these groups and individuals are, how many of them there seem to be, where they are located, and what they are doing. We shall also suggest measures to deal with dangers created by their activities.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Price of Money

INTEREST is the price of money, and according to the classical economists it is subject like other prices to the law of supply and demand. "As the quantity of stock to be lent at interest increases," wrote Adam Smith, "the interest, or the price which may be paid for the use of that stock, necessarily diminishes. . . ." Extending this theory, his followers assumed that the rate of interest acted as a regulator of savings, so that when it declined as a result of a decreased demand for capital, the inducement to postpone consumption was weakened and the volume of funds available for loans contracted until a balance was reestablished.

For the past twenty years the trend of interest rates, both long and short term, has been downward. This was as true in the booming twenties, when there certainly was no lack of demand for private loans, as it was in the thirties, when the capital market was sustained, if not fortified, by an expansion in government borrowing. Yet the progressively smaller rewards offered appear not to have discouraged savers to any considerable degree, and in relation to current demand the supply of capital remains as large as ever.

This subject has recently been thoroughly explored in a book entitled "Whither Interest Rates?" by Harland H. Allen, the well-known investment counsel (Harper and Brothers, $2). The author does not attempt to give any definitive answer to his question, but he does offer a warning against too easy acceptance of the theory that interest-rate trends move in broadly consistent cycles and that, since the last peak in 1920 followed a twenty-year upswing, a reverse of the descending curve is now due.

Writers for the financial press are apt to dodge the problem presented by the unbalance between supply of and demand for capital by the easy method of blaming the government. But this explanation receives little support from Mr. Allen's detailed analysis of the many forces which shape the capital market. He points out, for instance, that the ratio of bank loans to deposits has been declining ever since 1921. In that year the figure was 74.4 per cent; by 1927 it had fallen to 65.7 per cent, by 1933 to 53.9 per cent, and by 1939 to 33.5 per cent. Up to 1929 the absolute volume of bank loans continued to expand, but it is significant that of the total increase of 10.5 billion dollars between 1920 and 1929 three-quarters was accounted for by loans on real estate and the rest by advances against securities, mainly for speculative purposes. That is to say, in a period of unprecedented industrial expansion there was no call by industry as a whole for additional bank credit.

Industry was able to dispense with the banks as a source of working capital because the general public, educated by the Liberty Loan campaigns, had become receptive to the idea of security buying. And as the boom rose to a crescendo and the notion spread that the stock exchanges provided a royal road to wealth, almost any nicely engraved piece of paper purporting to be a bond or share of stock could be sold. The profound disillusion which followed the 1929 collapse has been a major factor in the capital market ever since and one on which Mr. Allen might have laid more stress than he does. For the repercussions of this shock are at least as responsible as the actions of the Administration for the lack of confidence that promotes a constant search for risk-free investment and exercises so strong a pressure on interest rates.

The shortage of safe investments, other than government bonds, has been accentuated by the growing tendency of strong corporations to finance expansion from internal resources. In the booming capital market of the twenties industrial executives were able to build up their capital positions and free themselves from dependence on the banks. Now they seek to buttress their position further by regularly setting aside part of their profits to provide a fund for the expansion of plant or operations. That is to say, they take it upon themselves to "save" some of the income belonging to their stockholders, who are thus deprived of the right of deciding what portion of such income they wished to invest and where it should be invested. But there has been little protest, and, indeed, the practice has been encouraged by wealthy stockholders because it helps them to escape surtax payments. For the national economy as a whole, however, the benefits of widespread self-financing of this type are questionable. Quite aside from the tax-dodging aspect is the fact that it permits an important volume of funds to be invested without undergoing the test of the market. Yet the whole rationale of a free capitalist economy depends on the regulatory functions of supply and demand exercised in open markets. From the circumvention of this test by small self-perpetuating groups of men controlling huge aggregations of capital to the totalitarian method of direction of investment by government fiat is but a short step.

There is little reason to believe that corporate methods of internal saving have been offset to any important extent by a decline in personal savings. As Mr. Allen points out, investable life-insurance assets, representing one of the principal forms of individual saving, increased just as much between 1929 and 1939 as they did between 1919 and 1929. They form the largest supply factor in the capital market, and their investment is confined to channels which are growing narrower. This is one of the pressures forcing up interest rates on high-grade securities, but although the consequent reduction in return has compelled insurance companies to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offer less attractive terms than formerly, the demand for insurance protection shows few signs of slackening. Indeed, low interest rates act as an incentive to buyers of insurance who are attempting to build up a fund able to maintain their dependents at a given standard of living, for if only a 3 per cent return on capital is to be expected as compared to 5 or 6 per cent in the recent past, obviously a much larger principal sum is required. Eventually, of course, low interest rates may restrict income from capital to such an extent that the ability of its receivers to save may be impaired. This, as Mr. Allen suggests, is how interest acts as "nature's remedy." Unfortunately, its effect is being delayed by the attraction of government tax-exempts for our larger income owners.

In the Wind

A NEW SHIFT in the Communist position is definitely in the offing. Observers at the recent American Youth Congress saw signs of an anti-Hitler drift, and Communist leaders there confided that there would be a new, anti-Hitler twist but it would be "broken slowly."

ECHO OF CAPORETTO: An Italian Fascist newspaper recently carried this item: "In less than ten minutes Mussolini inspected the front and in a running step covered more than a mile."

ONE WEEK before the Democratic convention President Roosevelt said to a guest: "I'm an old and tired man."

PHIL MURRAY'S star is visibly rising in C. I. O. circles. The Automobile Workers' resolution urging a third term was a blow to Lewis, a victory for Murray. The vote was unanimous though the U. A. W. board includes a group heretofore staunchly pro-Lewis.

NEWSPAPER OFFICES have been flooded with circulars giving a list of alleged Communists on the staff of *PM*. *PM* attributes it to a rival circulation manager.

PRO-CAMACHO MEXICANS are resentful of the attention paid to Almazán in the United States press. Some twenty American correspondents spent Election Day with Almazán, going from booth to booth in Mexico City. This, it is claimed, largely accounts for the general impression in the States that Almazán was the popular hero of the day.

THE POLICE haven't caught the perpetrators of the bomb outrage in the British Pavilion at the World's Fair. But they are busy tracking down and questioning "radicals." Among those so far investigated is Jay Allen, well-known foreign correspondent. Mr. Allen was questioned by Officers Shea and Egan, who told him he was under suspicion because he had been a speaker at a dinner on April 25 to raise money for Spanish refugees. Apparently the police don't know it, but that dinner was to celebrate the "purification" of the Refugee Committee after the withdrawal of Communists and Communist sympathizers.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

QUISISANA CAMPS
On Lake Kezar in Center Lovell, Maine
Located on LAKE KEZAR (considered most beautiful in U. S. A.) in Maine's pine woods and White Mountain Region
QUAINT • RESTFUL • ROMANTIC • CULTURED COMPANIONSHIP
Cheerful individual cottages with bath, fireplaces, electricity. Main Lodge rooms with or without private bath. Food of highest quality, wholesome, tempting. Golf, tennis, boating, swimming, natural sand beach. Excellent fishing: Salmon, Black Bass, Brook Trout. Non-sectarian. Ownership-Management.
RATES: From $35 a week per person, including meals **WRITE FOR BOOKLET**

More than a War

From the very start the present world conflict has been more than a war. What is happening today is something close to a world revolution. Not the struggle from below which the Marxists have for a century envisaged. That revolution missed fire. Right now the radicals have become conservative, the reactionaries of the world have become its revolutionaries.

MAX LERNER

in a series of three articles takes stock of America's democratic convictions at a time when the people are disillusioned and bewildered. Here is a sober evaluation of the things America stands for and of our ability to organize society for humanist ends.

Beginning next week in
THE *Nation*

SEND THIS COUPON TODAY
THE NATION, 55 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK
7-20-40
Please enter my *Nation* subscription for the term checked below. I enclose payment of $.....
☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8 ☐ 3 Years $11
Introductory Offer: ☐ 13 Weeks $1
Name.....
Address.....
.....
Extra postage per year: Canada 50c; Foreign, $1.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

History as Fiction

WORLD'S END. By Upton Sinclair. Viking Press. $3.

LANNY BUDD, the young hero of Upton Sinclair's story of a world that was busy digging its grave long before Munich, reached his maturity in the decade of the First World War. In other words, he grew up in a period when young men—in literature, at least—were generally in the throes of agonizing, and always intense. Lanny Budd learned about life in the era of Compton MacKenzie's feverish dalliance in Sinister Street, when Joyce's Stephen Dedalus was preoccupied with remorse over masturbation, when Rupert Brooke was busy celebrating his love of white plates and cups clean-gleaming, when Scott Fitzgerald's Amory Blaines were becoming achingly disillusioned with their Rosalinds and Isabels, when Jack London's Martin Eden was voraciously preparing himself for suicide by attempting the exhausting feat of gobbling a college education in two months' time. But with all this evidence of spiritual embroilment and turmoil going on around him, Lanny Budd remained cool as a fish on ice. He practiced Dalcroze eurythmics, and he saw Isadora Duncan plain, yet he wasted no passion on aesthetics. He was an accomplished tennis player and swimmer, yet athletics failed to engross him. He met Anatole France, yet never attained enough conviction about the tears of things to become a youthful ironist. He studied the great French playwrights, but refused to become really immersed in the theater. He admired his business-man father, yet was never convinced of the glories of competition—or monopoly. Finally, he talked with syndicalists and Marxists without ever becoming—even for a secret moment—either a revolutionist or a Fabian approximation thereof.

With such a low-keyed protagonist to follow through the mazes of history, one might well expect a dull eight or ten hours of reading. The surprising thing about Lanny Budd, however, is that he makes an interesting book. For the proper elaboration of his thesis—which is the collapse of a whole society—Upton Sinclair needs an all-seeing eye, not a dramatic hero, and Lanny Budd is the seeing eye *par excellence.* The illegitimate son of an arms merchant and a loving artist's model who knows how to get on in Great Company, Lanny is strategically placed to witness all sorts of skulduggery, to see how the wheels turn and how the skids are greased. Although he was born in France, Lanny is too much an American to become part of French life. But when he goes to live in New England, in the Connecticut manufacturing town that is practically the private property of Budd, Gunmakers, Lanny is too "foreign" to fall in with the "normal" routine of American adolescence. Lanny is an old-young man, fated by circumstances to look on while others do the participating. The freak of chance that makes him secretary to one of the American "experts" at the Peace Conference leading up to the Treaty of Versailles is quite in keeping with everything that has gone before.

If you want an easy, fairly encyclopedic history of the World War period, with side glances at London slums, New England picket lines, the New York theater, a castle in Silesia, and the foreshore of the Côte d'Azur, "World's End" serves its purpose. But it is not fiction in the finest sense of the word; there is practically no interaction of character, no intense plumbing of the *personal,* even as it is affected by the sociological. The "real" people that walk in and out of the narrative—George Herron, Lincoln Steffens, Sir Basil Zaharoff, Adolf Berle, Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau—are precisely on a footing with Lanny Budd—which is pretty good indication that Sinclair is more interested in the story of what caused the war and wrecked the peace than he is in Lanny Budd's adolescent ventures and gropings. We are told that Lanny suffered because of two love affairs, one with an English girl, one with a young actress in New England, but the suffering is never very vivid. Clemenceau's growling over Wilson's Presbyterian conscience is twice as impassioned as Lanny's first seduction. It is that kind of novel—and if you want to hear Clemenceau growl you will like "World's End."

So far as interpretation goes, "World's End" is convincing up to a point. In the absence of scientific controls, one can "prove" that capitalist imperialism and the competition of munitions kings "caused" the fury of 1914-18. I once believed that Upton Sinclair's socialist diagnosis of our troubles was sufficiently documented to stand until a better one came along. But having watched Communists, Social Democrats, Anarchists, Fascists, and old-fashioned capitalists all compete for power in recent years, I can no longer comfort myself with the theory that Marxism explains anything very fundamental. With or without "capitalism," with or without "merchants of death," the human animal seems disposed to fight when he covets something his neighbor keeps him from attaining. I am aware that such an observation is hardly profound, but neither is Mr. Sinclair's analysis; and perhaps both of us had better begin all over again by going to anthropology, psychology, and geography for some new and better evidence.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Study of a Culture

MODERN FRENCH PAINTERS. By R. H. Wilenski. Reynal and Hitchcock. $6.

IN Mr. Wilenski's earlier writings the groundwork of his aesthetic has sometimes loomed larger than the works under consideration. "Modern French Painters" is built on a different plan. It is true that what may be called the allusive content of the book is great; every page shows the general context of ideas. But this monumental and engrossing volume is packed with concrete portrayals: it is these, so broadly spread, which make its character. Its arrangement is schematic, with divisions into prefaces—special and generalized, for the student and the lay reader—into prologues, "acts" as in a play, biographies which appear in sequence, and interludes. This framework keeps the immense amount of detail

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in tether. The inclusion of a summary of a play by Rousseau le Douanier in an appendix is indicative of the many foliations; and the complexly ordered pattern contains not only a minutely interpretative discussion of individual paintings and of the periods of work of individual artists but, above all, intellectual and social settings that are almost scenic.

Perhaps in no other work do artists assume so completely a living place in the society to which they belonged. It is not that Mr. Wilenski has stressed the so-called "social content" of art or has made a theme of the relationship of the artist to society. Indeed, many of these painters—Cézanne, Lautrec, Seurat, and the rest—were conspicuously detached from society both in their way of painting and in their way of living. But here—and the achievement is immense—they are not observed in a vacuum, as too often happens in this field, or only in their specialized environment, but as individuals moving in and out of great scenes. At times the inclusion of the panoramic becomes mechanical, appearing with the regularity of a Greek chorus, yet for the most part this is strongly interwoven into the substance of the book, with the result that a whole culture is presented—French culture from 1863 to the present day.

This volume demands the reader's immersion in it. Curiously enough the artists become somewhat diminished as individuals within their broad period. The small personal idiosyncrasies, of which so much has often been made, are no less sharp but they appear in perspective, and the works come forward as we read of them or see them generously interleaved within the book, which is as it should be.

CONSTANCE ROURKE

The Case for England

EMPIRE ON THE SEVEN SEAS: THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1784-1939. By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

THIS second and concluding volume of Mr. Adams's story of the British Empire covers the period between the American Revolution and the outbreak of the present war. It deals with the subject textbook fashion, and really manages to pack into some 350 pages an incredible number of facts about England at home and Britain abroad. The book bears evidence of a lack of careful planning. There is too much at the start and too little at the finish. The last forty years of British history is crowded into the last fifty pages. We should like to have heard more about the era of railroad building which played a part in early Victorian England comparable with the part played by the automobile industry in twentieth-century America. We should certainly like to have heard more about the Lloyd George budget of 1909, which was probably the shrewdest blow ever dealt in England to the landed interests. And we ought to have had something about the widely extended control of business and agriculture in England during the last two decades, much of which supplied the pattern for our own New Deal. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Adams, intent to say a little about everything, manages to say very little about anything, and virtually nothing at all about some very weighty matters. He did not intend to write a textbook, and yet we fear that there is too much of the textbook in his manner of presentation to arouse much interest in the general reader.

His purpose is clearly enough set forth in his Preface. It has direct reference to the present crisis. He sees Hitler and Stalin as the great enemies of that "type of Western civilization which Europe and America have slowly achieved during centuries." And he sees England as its great defender. Certainly from this point of view the book is a timely one. Just now, when democracy is fighting for its very life, we need to consider once again the development of a people who, whatever their faults, have been the stoutest champions of human freedom in the European world. The pity of it is that with the best of intentions Mr. Adams has done his subject something less than justice. The basic trends which the history of Britain reveals are steady progress toward a government based upon the consent of the governed, toward a culture based upon the maximum amount of freedom of speech and thought and action, toward an economic and social order based upon the greatest good to the greatest number. Taken as a whole it is a stirring and an inspiring story, but it is not an easy story to tell because there are so few dramatic figures in it, so few dramatic episodes. There is no English Napoleon, no English Cavour, no English Bismarck. England itself moves forward, and the direction of its progress is determined rather by the outcome of a whole series of trials and errors than by the careful planning of any one man or group of men.

We wish that Mr. Adams had given us some appraisal of modern Britain in these terms. It would have been inevitably partisan, but no more partisan than his Preface, and hardly more partisan than all contemporary history is bound to be. We wish he had stated frankly the case for England in terms of its evolution without bothering so much about textbook matters. For it is a strong case and it needs to be stated, particularly just now when there is a disposition abroad to extenuate the bloody tyranny of the dictators on the ground that the English are no better.

CONYERS READ

Spirit and Sense

THIS IS OUR OWN. By Marie De L. Welch. The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

A TURNING WIND. By Muriel Rukeyser. The Viking Press. $2.

SONG IN THE MEADOW. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. $2.

THE impression conveyed by "This Is Our Own" is not unlike that of trying to carry on a conversation with someone who is taking care of a child. Miss Welch comments on the animals and their ways and points out in nature what a child might not see unless it were brought to its notice. She shows how grass burns brown in summer, grows green in autumn. She tells the story of how Adam, naming the beasts, came with surprise on Eve. She is cheery and harassed. There are little counsels to courage and a constant demonstration of the obvious. What she has to say to an adult listener seems under the circumstances almost an interruption, though when there is a chance she displays both charm and sagacity. That something of the child should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remain in a poet is, we have been told, good; but that poetry should be addressed with such blithe confidence to what is most childish in the reader is not so recommendable.

Where Miss Welch's poetry is confined by its own simplicity, the sophistication of Miss Rukeyser's allows her no restraint. She has gone over America, a crude country "whose form is unquietness"; west she has gone, then south:

> seeing the distance of false capes ahead
> feeling the tide-following and turning wind traveling farther
>
> under abrasive weather, to the bronzy river,
> the rust, the brown, the terrible dead swamps,
> the hanging moss the color of all the hanged.

And having covered the continent, she is stayed by neither coast. She knows of China and in "A Turning Wind" crosses the Atlantic and sweeps, insatiably curious, through a decayed Europe, past England, toward Spain, noting as she goes both the living and the dead. But though she follows the prevailing currents of the air, there is little in Miss Rukeyser to suggest a natural force. Her poetry is put together and expertly welded, after the latest models, a product indeed of skill, but even more of an ambitious will. It is primarily a means of getting about; it might be the propeller of a plane that makes this sound of the wind. This is, perhaps, as it must be. For Miss Rukeyser, in more ways than one, reminds us of what Gide said of Aldous Huxley: she is intelligent, but all her problems lie outside her. She must go to meet them, for otherwise she would miss all emotion.

Her life is in her eyes, the light in them disillusioned. Her powers of observation are remarkable. In line after line she has shown with what alertness and acuteness she can survey the contemporary scene. The lines accumulate, like a tourist's postcards, but what they add up to we never know. The moment of proof—to use her own phrase—never comes. The meaning is missing. Miss Rukeyser's poetry proceeds from the intelligence and is itself unintelligible. And this, in a poet, almost always means one thing: that the emotion has not been adequate to the experience.

In the first of her elegies, Rotten Lake, there is but comment on a situation that is never created by the poem. It is not impossible to make out what the situation is, for the poem certainly comes out of an experience in love which has proved unhappy and brought, as is so often the case with the young, more disappointment than unhappiness. This is the Rotten Lake, as the river which recurs through the elegy stands for the life of the family which must be left behind when one approaches love "hoping for wonders." But neither river nor lake is a symbol. They are simply words substituted for other words. For though Miss Rukeyser is aware that symbols may become "sources of power," she believes in them only as a student might, that is to say, with the mind. She does not believe in them sensuously. The consequence is that they have in her writing no imaginative reality. If we contrast her practice with that of Yeats, who was, as we know from his prose, often skeptical of his symbols intellectually and yet, when he came to write his poems, always believed in them as we believe in the body of a person we love, we can understand why, with all her gifts, Miss Rukeyser succeeds in writing, not poetry, but only a sort of ambitious and cryptic rhetoric.

Today the whole world impinges on the mind, and Miss Rukeyser's poems, being products of mind and will, can in an abstract way encompass the world. Miss Roberts has, apparently, never left her grandmother's chair. She is more limited in her material and in her own right much richer than either of the other two poets I have discussed. She is countrified and conscious, her countryside real and her consciousness rarefied. She has rendered as no one before her has done the sights and sounds and smells of the particular portion of the border South which she inhabits. It is a land richly endowed and constantly "renewed in the giving." Her poetry is like it, proudly provincial, composed of local recollections, its battles old and local, while through it runs as through that region the sound of old hymns and older ballads. Miss Roberts delights in her sensuous knowledge and no more trusts what is known through the senses than Bishop Berkeley did.

> I draw my sight in when I sleep
> I gather back my word and call.
> I take my senses from the air
> And wind them in a little ball.
>
> I curl them in a lonely ball
> And wind them in a lonely mesh.
> I fold it over with my dream
> And wind it round and round with flesh.

If there is something here of the oddity of a distinguished mind in a remote setting, there is also the touch of a hand which, itself slight, exquisite, and skilled, can take up nothing without knowing that it has long been worn and warmed by common hands. Miss Roberts writes as though she had never been out of Kentucky, nor needed to look beyond its borders, having found within them life enough for endless meditation. Kentucky is a state where living had, certainly down to Miss Roberts's childhood, an uncommon continuity. And it is scarcely to be doubted that much of what she writes is made up of childish memories and even of things that happened before her day. "Song in the Meadow" has the feel of an older America than any now extant, I am afraid, even in her own Kentucky. Even there the world penetrates, not merely to the mind but to the senses. Corbin the cobbler has many smells on him, leather, tanbark, rosin, turpentine, but one of them comes from the way he was gassed in the Argonne. But that penetration, threatening as it is, has only strengthened her conviction that politics, like poetry, is all the better for beginning with something small—like people.

> One man cannot make a song.
> One man cannot make a state.
>
> A theory, a Plan, a technique, is not a state.
> A technique established by a tyrant is not a state.
> Thus: it will never be a state.
>
> States are made as songs are made.

Miss Roberts is certain that if you want to know what man is, you can start anywhere. She has started at home. "You can never escape God's great flood. Death is only a part of it. You can never escape God's great flood." Miss Roberts has not escaped it. But neither has she been submerged by it. She has simply made her choice for high ground, where she is in no danger of being drowned.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

THE Columbia University Bookstore has issued two notable ten-inch records. One is a coupling of a Kyrie by Francesco Durante and a Crucifixus by Antonio Lotti, both very beautiful (104, $1); the other offers Giovanni Maria Nanino's "Diffusa est gratia," also very beautiful, the brief "To My Humble Supplication" from the Genevan Psalter (1543), and Palestrina's "Exaltabo Te, Domine," which I find less interesting (103, $1). These are excellently sung by the Columbia University Choir under Lowell P. Beveridge; and the recording is remarkable in its fidelity, spaciousness, and balance. The records sound best with treble on the phonograph reduced; and this will also reduce the occasional distortion from overloading that is the one fault in recording, and that is worst in the Crucifixus.

Another of the series of superb jazz performances recorded by the small Muggsy Spanier group, "At Sundown" (Bluebird 10719), is at hand, with ensembles and solos—particularly the piano solo of Joe Bushkin—that make it easily the finest of recent jazz records. Other good ones include the Coleman Hawkins "Bouncing with Bean" (Bluebird 10693), with an exciting piano solo by Gene Rodgers, and good playing by Benny Carter, Danny Polo, and J. C. Higginbotham; the Joe Sullivan "Solitude" (Vocalion 5531), with excellent ensemble spirit and good solos by Ed Anderson and Benny Morton; the Buster Bailey "Chained to a Dream" (Vocalion 5510), also with fine ensemble quality and good solo bits that include an outstanding half-chorus on muted trumpet—by Charlie Shavers, I would guess; the Lionel Hampton "Save It Pretty Mama" (Victor 26595), with good work by Toots Mondello, Ziggy Elman, Bud Johnson, and Spencer Odon. Moderately good are the Dicky Wells "Hangin' Around the Boudon" (Victor 26617), with Wells, Bill Coleman, and Django Reinhardt; the Joe Marsala coupling of "Wandering Man Blues," with Coleman and the singer Dell St. John, and "Salty Mama Blues," with Marsala and Pete Brown (General Records 1717). Marsala, Brown, and St. John are good in "Three O'Clock Jump" (General 3001); and Brown does well in "Reunion in Harlem" on the reverse side of this twelve-incher, but Marsala manages only to blow a lot of notes. Characteristic and enjoyable are the Count Basie "Somebody Stole My Gal" (Columbia 35500) and the Johnny Hodges "Skunk Hollow Blues" (Vocalion 5533); the Benny Goodman Sextet "Boy Meets Goy" (Columbia 35482) is a sort of boogie-woogie "Pick-a-Rib" which works up considerable excitement; and the Joe Sullivan "I Can't Give You Anything but Love" (Vocalion 5496) I mention because Joe Turner is some people's idea of something wonderful in singing, and his vocal is my idea of something monstrous.

To turn now to books—Arthur Tillman Merritt's "Sixteenth-Century Polyphony" (Harvard University Press, $3) is an excellent exposition of the materials and practices of the music of Palestrina, Victoria, Byrd, and others of that period. Like R. O. Morris's "Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century" (Oxford) it has the basic excellence that its statements are derived from, and illustrated by, the music of these composers; and if you ask in astonishment what else the statements should be derived from, that will mean you haven't studied counterpoint and other theoretical subjects as I and countless unfortunates did—from textbooks of whose rules Morris writes: "Who invented them, goodness only knows; why they have been perpetuated, it passes the wit of man to explain. Music written to meet their requirements is something altogether *sui generis*. . . . 'Music that never was on sea or land.'" Morris's "Structure of Music" (Oxford), incidentally, is a little book about musical forms which I recommend to the reader with an interest in the subjest, and with the equipment he needs for it. For this book, too, is a summary of composers' practice that is illustrated by constant reference to their works; and Morris himself warns that unless the reader is able to turn from the statements in the book to the music they refer to—things like the fugues of Bach, the sonatas and symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven—the book will have little interest or value for him.

As for the book that has been on everyone's tongue, "Information, Please" demands of Mr. Levant what he is equipped to give—a quick, sharp-witted response to the situation of a moment; but a book—or even a chapter in a book—demands powers of sustained and integrated thinking which he doesn't possess. In "A Smattering of Ignorance," then, called on to tell us about the ways of orchestras and conductors, or about music in the movies, or about American composers, he tells us every funny story he can remember and every wisecrack he can think up. And of the result one may say that a few spontaneous and clever cracks in the course of a half-hour are more successful than a couple of hours of uninterrupted and often labored humor; and that while he manages in his own way to tell us a few things about orchestras and conductors, about movie music, about American composers, he is far from telling us all that needs to be told. Thus, he does an expert job of conveying the personal viciousness of some of the composers, but fails to understand even himself how phony the arguments are with which they have browbeaten the public into taking them seriously.

B. H. HAGGIN

HAY-ADAMS HOUSE
In hospitality, charm and dignity as well as service and cuisine, the Hay-Adams House perpetuates these two great names. An ideal location, directly opposite the White House, overlooking beautiful LaFayette Park. Write for free "Guide to Washington."
From $3.50 Single $5. Double
Completely Air Conditioned

SIXTEENTH STREET AT H
WASHINGTON D.C.

Classified Advertisements
62 cents a line (six words)
MINIMUM—3 lines
$6.16 per inch
•
THE NATION
55 Fifth Avenue, New York City
Algonquin 4-3311

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

[*Since Mr. Villard's resignation many* Nation *readers have written us letters either expressing agreement with his views or upholding our stand on the necessity of military preparedness and a stout resistance to the spread of fascism. In answer to several inquiries we wish to emphasize the fact that Mr. Villard resigned entirely of his own volition. We print below excerpts from a number of the letters, representing the opinion of both camps.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Congratulations! For some time I have been conducting a desultory controversy with Mr. Villard over his inconsistent semi-non-resistance. The phrase "measures short of war and that will not lead to war" sounds well, but is nebulous thinking. Any "measure," however legal, will lead to war if you are not well armed. But for our navy and our war potential Hitler would have ordered us to suppress Oswald Garrison Villard.

I still call myself a pacifist, as I have done for over forty years, in the liberal sense of the term—an advocate of the peace spirit and of organized peace. But the time may come when gangsters' rule in city, nation, or world has to be put down; and if gangsters will not surrender to reason, our sole resort is force.

We are still—partly—sane; it is for liberals like you to keep us sane, even though we should have to go through the madness of war. No capitulation to the dictators; but no capitulation either to the dictatorial spirit at home. If we, too, have to use planes, tanks, and guns, let it be with a difference. The line can and must be drawn; and it must be drawn *now*. ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford University, Cal.

I want to record my support for the position taken by Oswald Garrison Villard in protesting against *The Nation's* belief that war offers a solution of any of the fundamental problems of the world. The editors should recall the slogans and patter of 1917 vividly enough to see that we are merely repeating that performance. I am certain that the vast majority of Americans of all political faiths, except perhaps those few who are attached to a foreign ideology, are vigorously opposed to our involvement in the war. And I am convinced that they are opposed to our involvement by indirect means, such as the "protection" of the islands off our shores.

It is a simple business to be a liberal and a pacifist in time of peace; the real test comes when mass hysteria is aroused and when it is far from popular to go against the herd instinct. But that is just the time—and I fear it is here now—when men of intelligence should remain steadfast to their fundamental principles. PAUL COMLY FRENCH

Germantown, Pa.

Ever since 1920 I have been a great admirer of *The Nation* and particularly of Oswald Garrison Villard. But something has happened to him in recent times. His last few Issues and Men have nearly caused me to despair of human reason, and so it is best that his valedictory appears now.

May I voice my great respect and deep appreciation for such articles as Escape and Appeasement by Freda Kirchwey and An End to Illusions by Reinhold Niebuhr.

New York SAMUEL FISCHER

I never write fan mail, but I want to congratulate Freda Kirchwey for her comment on Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory. It had power, vigor, and meaning, and pointed sharply to the contrast between the old and the new era. Unlike Mr. Villard I am not fearful of *The Nation's* future. I am encouraged and hopeful.

REBECCA HOURWICH REYHER

New York

Will you allow me, as a former contributor to *The Nation,* to express my regret that Mr. Villard is severing his connections with the journal so long enriched by his thought and animated by his spirit. No living journalist has championed so many noble causes with such distinction and effectiveness. Long may he continue to set forth those great ideals, including that of peace for America, to which he has dedicated his life. PRESERVED SMITH

Ithaca, N. Y.

Everyone who knows *The Nation* knows that it is the enduring outcome of Mr. Villard's far-reaching humane genius. But it seems to me that you realize what perhaps he cannot—that the policy of complete tolerance is now as obsolete for *The Nation* as for states and individuals. Juggernaut brutality, to which no force derived from honor or decency can appeal, can no longer be disregarded. Were we to continue to ignore this fact, we should add the seal of our approval to the ignominy and suffering of every nation on earth. The duties from which we thought ourselves exempt have fallen upon us. If they entail an earlier death, it will not be death with a bound heart. This is better, too, for our children, and their children, who might become so immunized by selfishness to the contemplation of any sacrifice that they would let the last light go out.

GENEVIEVE W. MASON

Fairfield, Conn.

I have just read Mr. Villard's valedictory with a real sense of loss and sorrow. I have been moved by its quiet dignity and by what to me, at least, seemed its unanswerable arguments.

After reading it I turned to Freda Kirchwey's Escape and Appeasement. I found it difficult to believe that she had read Mr. Villard's article. Certainly nothing he said denies the facts presented by Miss Kirchwey. Apparently people who do not agree with her in regard to the method to be used for dealing with these facts "inhabit a dream world"—"choose not to be concerned." The method which Miss Kirchwey urges is recognized by most pacifists as a valid one. It is a method which those who are supposed to be living in a "dream world" are able to appreciate, even if they do not agree with it.

It is nothing less than a tragedy that Mr. Villard's valedictory should come at the beginning of this new World War, and that his thousands of friends and admirers among the readers of *The Nation* cannot have the benefit of his interpretation of the facts.

DOROTHY DETZER

Washington, D. C.

Although I do not agree with Mr. Villard's views about the lack of need for defense and preparedness, I share his deep sense of indignation and betrayal at the present war-like attitude of *The Nation.*

There are two possible reasons for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOUTH WIND

WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

A country estate on top of a mountain with its private lake, offers all facilities for sport and relaxation.

ZINDOREST PARK

MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7755

A resort of unusual beauty and charm. 150 acres of beautiful trees, lakes, and brooks. Only 40 miles from New York.

We just completed a New House luxuriously equipped with up-to-the-minute conveniences. Each room, accommodating two guests only, has private bath and shower.

ALL FACILITIES FOR SPORTS
OPEN ALL YEAR

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG

A Delightful Hideaway In the Mts. You CAN have EVERYTHING!

— MENU —

Swimming: in our filtered luxurious pool
Boating: on "Lake Godsend" right on premises
Plus: all 18 other sports & pastimes

Vacation time here means an incomparable setting, abundant sports and adult diversions, fascinating friendships, inviting quarters (new 'Luxury Lodge' now ready) tempting vittels. Dancing. Resident theatrical staff throughout the summer. EVERYTHING! Write or fone Fallsburg 53.

OPEN ALL YEAR WOODBOURNE, N. Y.

MOON HILL Lodge on SCHROON LAKE

IN HEART OF ADIRONDACKS

A Vacation Paradise

- Country Club Activities
- Hotel Comforts
- Golf — Saddle Horses
- Tennis--Swimming--Boating
- Entertainment, Dancing

Unsurpassed Food (dietary laws)

Moderate Rates

Write for Booklet "N"

SARAH SOLOMON, Man. Director
Pottersville, Warren Co., New York
N. Y., 516 5th Ave., - MU 2-3383

WEIL'S

PINE FOREST COLONY
ON LAKE ELLIS WINGDALE, N. Y.

Informal Adult Camp
All Sports Including Golf
Rates as low as $30.00

New York Office: LExington 2-1031

ON SCHROON LAKE IN THE ADIRONDACKS

OVER THE LAKE LODGE

GOOD FOOD
GOOD COMPANY
GOOD SPORT
tennis, riding, boating
fishing, swimming, etc.
rates $22.50 and up

EDNA SIMON POTTERSVILLE
JESSIE FAIR, Managers New York

TALL TIMBER

LAKE MOHEGAN, N. Y. Peekskill 3275

Only One Hour from Grand Central to Peekskill. 3-mile lake, 3 tennis courts, 2 handball courts. Other sports facilities. Horses and Golf nearby. Weekly tennis and handball tournaments. Special entertainment.

RATES: $20 WEEKLY $3.50 PER DAY

VACATION THE ADIRONDACK WAY
Mountain trails. Log cabins. Fine country food. $15 weekly. Hutchins, Buck Mountain Farm. Indian Lake, N. Y.

GREEN MANSIONS

WARRENSBURG N.Y.

Newly completed theatre, lounge, social hall, cocktail bar, sundecks. Log Cabin Clubhouse, each room with private bath. Private golf course, lake. 13 championship tennis courts, all on premises. Excellent food.

Drama by The Prevue Players

LENA BARISH : SAM GARLEN
Directors
N. Y. C. Office: 11 West 42nd St.
Telephone BRyant 9-1738
Write or phone for booklet

Pauls

A BETTER RESORT

"ACCENT ON TENNIS"

ALL ACTIVITIES

SWAN LAKE, N. Y.

VACATION THE WESTERN WAY!

300 ACRES ● 50 HORSES ● FREE RIDING ● PRIVATE LAKE ● 6 CHAMPIONSHIP TENNIS COURTS

IN THE HEART OF THE ADIRONDACKS

INFORMAL ● NOT RESTRICTED

All sports. Orchestra. RR Sta. on premises. Your Host: J. Heller. One rate $37.50 wk. Write for Bklt "NA" Office: 250 W. 57 St. Suite 2001. CO 5-0175

HORSESHOE LAKE RANCH

HORSESHOE NEW YORK

A Summer Retreat, the Vacation Complete

The LITTLE CLUB

ON SCHROON LAKE *In the Adirondacks* NEW YORK

GOLF ● RIGHT ON LAKE ● PRIVATE BEACH
Hotel with All Outdoor Activities
Excellent Cuisine T. N. FLAUM

Additional Resort Advertising on Back Inside Cover.

UNITY HOUSE Forest Park PENNSYLVANIA

"SHOW PLACE of the Vacation World"

Camp Facilities - Hotel Comforts

Unexcelled Cuisine
Special Entertainment Features
All Land and Water Sports

●

RATES: WEEKLY, $28.
De Luxe slightly higher.
(Lower to Union Members)

Write for information and Illustrated Booklet to
UNITY HOUSE, FOREST PARK, PENNA.
New York Office: 3 West 16th Street
Telephone: WAtkins 9-6868

Owned and operated by I. L. G. W. U. on non-profit basis. Alfred A. Taxin, Manager.

Make Reservations NOW!

★ STAR LAKE CAMP ★

In the Glorious Adirondacks

Between Thousand Islands and Ausable Chasm. A marvelous pleasure playground, 1,800 feet elevation and right on the lake with plenty of gorgeous woodlands. Bungalows and lodges with hot and cold running water and modern conveniences. Tennis Courts, Canoeing, Swimming, Handball, Baseball, Ping Pong, Fishing, Saddle Horses, Golf, Cards, Dancing, etc. Interesting one-day trips arranged. Delicious wholesome meals that pep up the appetite. Rates $25.00 weekly. New Bungalows, semi-private baths for couples—$27.50 per person.

Send for Booklet — New York Office
116 NASSAU ST., Room 802a, CO 7-2667
Sundays, Evenings, Holidays—PR 4-1390
Auto service from and to New York every Saturday and Sunday

A complete vacation with all pleasures and conveniences for **$20!**

Wholesome, plentiful food; intelligent companionship; charming social hall; tennis, swimming, other sports.

WEEK END RATE $3.50 per day

PINE HILL FARM HOUSE

Box 100, PLEASANT VALLEY, N. Y.
Phone Pleasant Valley 2741 or write for details.

plum point

the year round vacation resort

Magnificent estate on the Hudson River. Only 53 miles from New York. All outdoor sports. Saddle horses on grounds. Fine Library. Musical Recordings. Superlative Cuisine. Booklet Sent on Request.

Write P. O. Box 471, NEWBURGH, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 4270

There is only one

RED OAKS

A Country Estate just 50 miles from New York at ELBERON, NEW JERSEY

Under the Management of
MASCHA & HYMAN STRUNSKY

ALL SPORTS OPEN ALL YEAR
Tel.: Long Branch 3330

ROBIN HOOD LODGE

WARRENSBURG, NEW YORK

A delightful Adirondack resort one mile from village. Special July rate $21 & $23 weekly includes room, meals, private beach on Echo Lake, canoes, tennis, handball, cabins with bath. Write for Booklet N.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

going to war. The first is the wish to carry on a moral crusade against fascism. Anyone who feels that this war is such a crusade has a perfect right to fight in it himself or to give his fortune to those whom he believes are fighting it. However, he has not the right to urge this country to enter the war. The second is to defend this country. We ought to defend ourselves and prepare to do so against any threatened invasion of our country or the Panama Canal. But we are not entitled to go to war or to run a serious risk of so doing in order to prevent a future threat as yet unmade.

I appreciate the strong emotions which must influence the editors. However, I regret that those emotions have led them to take a position directly contrary to all that *The Nation* has stood for since I began to read it twenty years ago.

JOSIAH WILLARD
New York

I should like to express my complete agreement with Freda Kirchwey's editorial entitled Escape and Appeasement. The spirit of Mr. Villard's valedictory, as well as of his other articles since returning from Europe, is completely incomprehensible to me. Mr. Villard is evidently either living in a world that never existed or else he is consciously or unconsciously sympathetic to the totalitarian powers. When he writes that "war was never anything else than the sum of all villainies," he seems to forget that there come times when war is the only alternative to slavery and degradation.

J. LOUIS WARM
Cincinnati, Ohio

Miss Kirchwey performed a highly necessary operation with skill and great kindness.

HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON
Old Greenwich, Conn.

The Nation has climbed on the bandwagon and, by the law of cause and effect, has lost Mr. Villard. Mr. Villard has never used the bandwagon as a means of transportation. In that fact lay his unique value to his readers. The minority has lost its most eloquent champion. Where are we to turn?

No one can say that Mr. Villard is unaware of the grievous danger confronting us in this hour. His was one of the first voices to be raised against the policies of Chamberlain, and for a long time he has been warning us that we are not getting value received for the billions spent for national defense. Universal military training is not the first requisite but the last in our program of national defense. And when it comes, no amount of rationalizing can make it a democratic program.

It may be that this country is in such peril that we must sacrifice individual freedom. Or it may be that democracy is not worth saving, since it cannot find means for its salvation that are not totalitarian. In either case, there are still some in this land who had hoped that *The Nation* would be among the last to fall before the common hysteria and who are filled with sadness to find it throwing overboard its distinguished heritage.

SHEILA HOLDEN
Akron, Ohio

Mr. Villard's valedictory was a great disappointment to many readers of *The Nation*. It is astonishing that a great liberal journalist can so shut his mind to what is going on in the world today, and obstinately adhere to his old philosophy. Miss Kirchwey was being very generous when she said that he lives in a dream world. Rather than admit that there is a limit even to pacifism, Mr. Villard argues that we are in no danger from Hitler. It is true that his views represent "a danger more present than fascism." Those are wise words, and I feel certain that the great majority of *The Nation's* readers will agree with you.

ABRAHAM WOLFSON
Miami Beach, Fla.

It was with extreme regret that I read Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory. Surely the attitude of the editors of *The Nation* toward the present European struggle would not prevent them from publishing the column of a writer of differing opinions, especially when that writer is of Mr. Villard's caliber. We almost feel that we have a right to expect America's most prominent liberal weekly to practice liberalism in its own editorial offices. I can only hope that Mr. Villard's Valedictory may be converted into a Recommencement.

CONWELL M. RICHARDSON
Waitsfield, Vt.

To my regret *The Nation* has become simply the editorials of the New York *Times* reprinted on pink paper. It is the voice of yesterday, not of tomorrow. I hope you will soon realize what is stirring in the minds of our ablest college men of today and speak of the future. Mr. Villard has leaped a generation and is right up to the minute. Please put on a better speed and try to catch up with him. You shouldn't train with the reactionaries.

FLETCHER D. PARKER
Hartford, Conn.

Such articles as Oswald Garrison Villard's valedictory frighten me, too. It seems incredible that fine intellects can be so lost in their emotions and wishful thinking. The one great encouraging thing for democracy is that oozy, compromising, mealy-mouthed politicians had to give way to We Want Willkie.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER
Woods Hole, Mass.

I want to express my thanks to Freda Kirchwey for her reply to Oswald Garrison Villard. I doubt that the case could be better put. Such a statement was sorely needed, and coming from *The Nation* it should be influential.

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL
University of Illinois

CONTRIBUTORS

M. THOMAS TCHOU was formerly private secretary to General Chiang Kai-shek. He is now in this country lecturing in behalf of China.

HODDING CARTER, a Southern publisher, is now press editor of *PM*.

RUSTEM VAMBERY, noted criminologist and sociologist, was a member of several Hungarian government ministries and committees.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN is an editor of *Fortune*.

CONSTANCE ROURKE is the author of a number of books dealing with social and cultural history, including "Charles Sheeler: Artist in the American Tradition."

CONYERS READ is professor of English history at the University of Pennsylvania and executive secretary of the American Historical Association.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP, poet and novelist, is the author of "Now with His Love," "Act of Darkness," and "Minute Particulars."

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, 50 cents. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED